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1 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
2 SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK  
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STATE OF NEW YORK, et al.,

4 Plaintiffs,

5 v.

6 18 Civ. 2921 (JMF)

7 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
8 COMMERCE, et al.,

9 Argument

10 Defendants.

11 NEW YORK IMMIGRATION  
12 COALITION, et al.,

13 Plaintiffs,

14 v.

15 18 Civ. 5025 (JMF)

16 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
17 COMMERCE, et al.,

18 Argument

19 Defendants.

20 New York, N.Y.  
21 July 3, 2018  
22 9:30 a.m.

Before:

23 HON. JESSE M. FURMAN,

24 District Judge

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## 1 APPEARANCES

2 NEW YORK STATE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
Attorneys for Plaintiffs3 BY: MATTHEW COLANGELO  
AJAY P. SAINI  
ELENA S. GOLDSTEIN  
- and -

5 ARNOLD &amp; PORTER KAYE SCHOLER

6 BY: JOHN A. FREEDMAN  
- and -

7 LAW OFFICE OF ROLANDO L. RIOS

BY: ROLANDO L. RIOS

8 United States Department of Justice  
Civil Division, Federal Programs Branch  
9 Attorneys for Defendants10 BY: BRETT SHUMATE  
KATE BAILEY  
JEANNETTE VARGAS  
STEPHEN EHRLICH

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1 (Case called)

2 MR. COLANGELO: Good morning, your Honor.

3 Matthew Colangelo from New York for the state and  
4 local government plaintiffs.

5 One housekeeping matter, your Honor, if I may. The  
6 plaintiffs intended to have two lawyers oppose the Justice  
7 Department's motion to dismiss; Mr. Saini argue the standing  
8 argue and Ms. Goldstein argue the remaining 12(b)(1) and  
9 12(b)(6) arguments; and then I will argue the discovery aspect  
10 of today's proceedings. And I may ask my cocounsel from  
11 Hidalgo County, Texas, Mr. Rios, to weigh in briefly on one  
12 particular aspect of expert discovery that we intend to  
13 proffer. So with the Court's indulgence, we may swap counsel  
14 in and out between those arguments.

15 THE COURT: Understood. Thank you.

16 MS. GOLDSTEIN: Elena Goldstein also from New York for  
17 the plaintiffs.

18 MR. SAINI: Ajay Saini also from New York for the  
19 plaintiffs.

20 MR. FREEDMAN: Good morning, your Honor.

21 John Freedman from Arnold & Porter for the New York  
22 Immigration Coalition plaintiffs.

23 MR. RIOS: Rolando Rios for the Cameron and Hidalgo  
24 County plaintiffs, your Honor.

25 MR. SHUMATE: Good morning, your Honor.

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1 full scope of such materials. Accordingly, plaintiffs' request  
2 for an order directing defendants to complete the  
3 Administrative Record is well founded.

4 Finally, I agree with the plaintiffs that there is a  
5 solid basis to permit discovery of extra-record evidence in  
6 this case. To the extent relevant here, a court may allow  
7 discovery beyond the record where "there has been a strong  
8 showing in support of a claim of bad faith or improper behavior  
9 on the part of agency decision-makers." National Audubon  
10 Society v. Hoffman, 132 F.3d 7, 14 (2d Cir. 1997). Without  
11 intimating any view on the ultimate issues in this case, I  
12 conclude that plaintiffs have made such a showing here for  
13 several reasons.

14 First, Secretary Ross's supplemental memorandum of  
15 June 21, which I've already discussed, could be read to suggest  
16 that the Secretary had already decided to add the citizenship  
17 question before he reached out to the Justice Department; that  
18 is, that the decision preceded the stated rationale. See, for  
19 example, Tummino v. von Eschenbach, 427 F.Supp. 2d 212, 233  
20 (E.D.N.Y. 2006) authorizing extra-record discovery where there  
21 was evidence that the agency decision-makers had made a  
22 decision and, only thereafter took steps "to find acceptable  
23 rationales for the decision." Second, the Administrative  
24 Record reveals that Secretary Ross overruled senior Census  
25 Bureau career staff, who had concluded -- and this is at page

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1277 of the record -- that reinstating the citizenship question  
2 would be "very costly" and "harm the quality of the census  
3 count." Once again, see Tummino, 427 F.Supp. 2d at 231-32,  
4 holding that the plaintiffs had made a sufficient showing of  
5 bad faith where "senior level personnel overruled the  
6 professional staff." Third, plaintiffs' allegations suggest  
7 that defendants deviated significantly from standard operating  
8 procedures in adding the citizenship question. Specifically,  
9 plaintiffs allege that, before adopting changes to the  
10 questionnaire, the Census Bureau typically spends considerable  
11 resources and time -- in some instances up to ten years --  
12 testing the proposed changes. See the amended complaint which  
13 is docket no. 85 in the states' case at paragraph 59. Here, by  
14 defendants' own admission -- see the amended complaint at  
15 paragraph 62 and page 1313 of the Administrative Record --  
16 defendants added an entirely new question after substantially  
17 less consideration and without any testing at all. Yet again  
18 Tummino is instructive. See 427 F.Supp. 2d at 233, citing an  
19 "unusual" decision-making process as a basis for extra-record  
20 discovery.

21 Finally, plaintiffs have made at least a *prima facie*  
22 showing that Secretary Ross's stated justification for  
23 reinstating the citizenship question -- namely, that it is  
24 necessary to enforce Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act -- was  
25 pretextual. To my knowledge, the Department of Justice and

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1 civil rights groups have never, in 53 years of enforcing  
2 Section 2, suggested that citizenship data collected as part of  
3 the decennial census, data that is by definition quickly out of  
4 date, would be helpful let alone necessary to litigating such  
5 claims. See the states case docket no. 187-1 at 14; see also  
6 paragraph 97 of the amended complaint. On top of that,  
7 plaintiffs' allegations that the current Department of Justice  
8 has shown little interest in enforcing the Voting Rights Act  
9 casts further doubt on the stated rationale. See paragraph 184  
10 of the complaint which is docket no. 1 in the Immigration  
11 Coalition case. Defendants may well be right that those  
12 allegations are "meaningless absent a comparison of the  
13 frequency with which past actions have been brought or data on  
14 the number of investigations currently being undertaken," and  
15 that plaintiffs may fail "to recognize the possibility that the  
16 DOJ's voting-rights investigations might be hindered by a lack  
17 of citizenship data." That is page 5 of the government's  
18 letter which is docket no. 194 in the states case. But those  
19 arguments merely point to and underscore the need to look  
20 beyond the Administrative Record.

21 To be clear, I am not today making a finding that  
22 Secretary Ross's stated rationale was pretextual -- whether it  
23 was or wasn't is a question that I may have to answer if or  
24 when I reach the ultimate merits of the issues in these cases.  
25 Instead, the question at this stage is merely whether --

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1 assuming the truth of the allegations in their complaints --  
2 plaintiffs have made a strong preliminary or *prima facie*  
3 showing that they will find material beyond the Administrative  
4 Record indicative of bad faith. See, for example, Ali v.  
5 Pompeo, 2018 WL 2058152 at page 4 (E.D.N.Y. May 2, 2018). For  
6 the reasons I've just summarized, I conclude that the  
7 plaintiffs have done so.

8 That brings me to the question of scope. On that  
9 score, I am mindful that discovery in an APA action, when  
10 permitted, "should not transform the litigation into one  
11 involving all the liberal discovery available under the federal  
12 rules. Rather, the Court must permit only that discovery  
13 necessary to effectuate the Court's judicial review; i.e.,  
14 review the decision of the agency under Section 706." That is  
15 from Ali v. Pompeo at page 4, citing cases. I recognize, of  
16 course, that plaintiffs argue that they are independently  
17 entitled to discovery in connection with their constitutional  
18 claims. I'm inclined to disagree given that the APA itself  
19 provides for judicial review of agency action that is "contrary  
20 to" the Constitution. See, for example, Chang v. USCIS, 254  
21 F.Supp. 3d 160 at 161-62 (D.D.C. 2017). But, even if  
22 plaintiffs are correct on that score, it is well within my  
23 authority under Rule 26 to limit the scope of discovery.

24 Mindful of those admonitions, not to mention the  
25 separation of powers principles at stake here, I am not

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1 inclined to allows as much or as broad discovery as the  
2 plaintiffs seek, at least in the first instance. First, absent  
3 agreement of defendants or leave of Court, of me, I will limit  
4 plaintiffs to ten fact depositions. To the extent that  
5 plaintiffs seek to take more than that, they will have to make  
6 a detailed showing in the form of a letter motion, after  
7 conferring with defendants, that the additional deposition or  
8 depositions are necessary. Second, again absent agreement of  
9 the defendants or leave of Court, I will limit discovery to the  
10 Departments of Commerce and Justice. As defendants' own  
11 arguments make clear, materials from the Department of Justice  
12 are likely to shed light on the motivations for Secretary  
13 Ross's decision -- and were arguably constructively considered  
14 by him insofar as he has cited the December 2017 letter as the  
15 basis for his decision. At this stage, however, I am not  
16 persuaded that discovery from other third parties would be  
17 necessary or appropriate; to the extent that third parties may  
18 have influenced Secretary Ross's decision, one would assume  
19 that that influence would be evidenced in Commerce Department  
20 materials and witnesses themselves. Further, to the extent  
21 that plaintiffs would seek discovery from the White House,  
22 including from current and former White House officials, it  
23 would create "possible separation of powers issues." That is  
24 from page 4 of the slip opinion in the Nielsen order. Third,  
25 although I suspect there will be a strong case for allowing a